

## **The Negro in Africa and America. By G. Stanley Hall.**

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1 Address at the University of Virginia, July, 1905.

By G. Stanley Hall.

There is evidence that for centuries before slaves were imported to America there had been a slow migration of population in Africa toward the west and southwest. The weaker tribes,—Keane says, “the dregs and sweepings”—have been driven to the slave coast north and northwest from the Gulf of Guinea. Among the tribes of Dahomy, and in the Fan, Felup, Wolop, Kru, and other stirps, there has always been back of all differences a great deal of unity in social custom. Most trace kinship through the females. They are more nomadic than agricultural, sometimes resort to cannibalism, use an agglutinative speech, believe profoundly in witchcraft, are lazy, improvident, imitative, fitful, passionate, affectionate, faithful, are devoted to music and rhythm, and have always practiced slavery among themselves. In their religion the medicine man is everywhere feared, courted, but hated. They believe in charms and fetiches. Some, like the Yorubas, have an organized priesthood. Conjuring and sorcery are universal, and, one writer says, have probably destroyed more lives than the slave trade. Life is dominated by spirits. Ghosts are talked to, and medicines rubbed into weapons. Animals and plants have ghosts. Spirits do all that is unusual. They cause sickness and must be propitiated by offerings and often with bloody sacrifices. Polygamy is universal. Fecundity is high and mortality great. Strong sex instincts are necessary to preserve the race. As soon as the child can go alone it begins to shift for itself. Stealing is universal and is a game, and falsehood a clever accomplishment. The natives sacrifice everything for a great funeral. The tom-tom is their chief musical instrument, and their passion for rhythm is very strong.

Our slaves came from the long narrow belt, not many miles from the sea, or near the Senegal, Gambia and Congo. The Ashantis sometimes captured and sold almost whole tribes. The slave coast was near the angle because this offered the best means of escape in case vessels were pursued. It is surprising to see how few of his aboriginal traits the negro has lost, although many of them are modified.

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The present status of a representative tribe is illustrated in the Vei territory which is three hundred miles long and two hundred wide on the seaboard from Gallinas to Cape Mount. Much of the coast is low and at first very unhealthful for Caucasians, and during July and August, the heart of the rainy season, the downpours are terrific. Each village has its chief while the provinces have kings, and at the head of all is now Prince Momolu Massaquoi of Ghendimah, born in 1872, trained as a Mohammedan, coming to America when he was sixteen and entering Nashville College. He has now founded an industrial school where the pupils are taught English, Vei, and Arabic. His great problem is, "How can my people be saved from the corruption of the whites?"<sup>1</sup> The king is absolute only in certain things and is always attended by his council. Questions are settled by judges before whom the parties themselves argue, and votes are cast if the judges disagree. If one man kills another he may be killed by relatives, but if he kills his relatives nothing is done. If a worthless fellow is killed by a brave man nothing is done. When a slave steals he is only whipped; but if a free man steals, a bunch of rice straw is tied around his hand and arm and set on fire, which leaves a spotted mark forever. All public questions are settled by vote. The king is supported by presents, and ambitious subjects will sometimes give a third of their income. Soldiers are paid entirely by spoils. From the cradle the child learns the tribal legends which teach bravery and patriotism. He soon is attracted by the beautiful bow and arrow which he loves to carry, and then learns to hunt. At twelve he begins to study Vei character, and at fourteen goes to the tribal school, called Belle, in the heart of the forest. Boys are then supposed to be inside of a great monster whose growl is thunder and whose breath is flame, who nightly covers the Vei country with his palm, and is next to God the most powerful of all beings. The women and strangers believe he yearly receives all male children and swallows them. In his body the children get their education without study. They learn industry, magic, prophecy, hoodooism. A similar school exists for girls in Sandee where they learn to make baskets, fish, cook, and so on. When the boys finish school they come rushing home, killing everything that they meet except man and acts, because, as is supposed, their minds are disturbed by their new freedom. Four days afterwards a great feast is made, and, if the boy is of age, he is given one or two wives and must be called by an honorary name given in Belle, and is thereafter a man. Every girl is strictly examined before marriage. All 2

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<sup>1</sup> See his article, *Africa's Appeal to Christendom*, *Century Mag.*, April, 1965, p. 927.

4 violators of virtue are whipped, dragged over town and proclaimed outcasts. The mother engages him to a girl when he is a small child so that she can train her aright. Girls are rather secluded and dignified. The seclusion is the result of the esteem in which they are held. Even when they are captured they marry only those they love, and slaves are entitled to the respect of free women in this regard. Their labor is a part of their life and makes them very healthful. Each man is a jack at all

trades. Every one must entertain strangers without compensation, and rest places are always open. The rites of hospitality may last for months.

All believe in a supreme being who supports the sky, hangs up the stars, carpets the world with green, and may be something or somebody, is called Kamba or Gol. All believe in some mediator, and this for them is perhaps a bit of stone or wood that cannot lie or steal. All these fetiches are mediators. Sacrificing babies to crocodiles is the same stage as Abraham offering Isaac. The reason Mohammedanism is preferred to Christianity is that there are no sects. God is God and Mohammed is his prophet, is all. Diverse creeds are not what the heathen require, so "they pay no attention when different sects are preaching."

The first missionary was Daniel Ware, in 1860. He was soon called away and no Vei man saw book till 1877 when there were not five men who spoke decent English, although there are now hundreds. The great need is more industrial schools. This would stop war, for the finer house a man has and the more possessions, the less ready he is to undertake its risks. Africa "is only a playground for European lions and tigers." Every European nation claims rights of possession, regarding only those of other nations and paying no attention to those of the natives. The only right of Europe to Asia is that of discovery, and because the African is ignorant and does not cultivate the land. "We think our country belongs to us." A man would not be justified in possessing his neighbor's house because he had not made improvements. Greed is at the bottom of all. The white Christians "cannot hear of a country possessing anything which can be converted into tangible profit without desiring to possess it for themselves." The African does not sell his country, and the writer knows no single case of this. Usually it is by a gift system called "dash." The English present gifts which the native understands as courtesy, and the ruler has recognition and so sends others in return. It means friendship so that the whites are invited to settle, but the Europeans keep account of every gift, and when the old king dies, at some very opportune moment the natives are told that their land has been bought. Before this often 5 the chiefs are called together and sign a "paper of friendship." "Not being able to read they touch the pen and somebody signs their name to the document which puts them under the dominion of some foreign power while altogether ignorant of its meaning. Naturally the natives do not take such treatment quietly and a great war is begun in which they are slaughtered like wild beasts." The wars are because the native rights have been abused and they were unwilling to be forced to obey European orders on their own soil. "The vices of civilization are as degrading as its virtues are elevating." There is remarkable contrast morally between the natives of the coast and those of the interior, because the former have been demoralized by Europeans. Polygamy is quite as common among Europeans in Africa as among natives, although it is against the codes of the former. The Europeans have introduced a still more degrading system on the coast by which the wives of a Caucasian are the wives of all his friendly visitors. The home government knows little

or nothing of all this. At any rate, "nothing is done to protect the virtue of our women." European supremacy will not elevate Africa. In his native state the African is in some respects the superior of the untrained Caucasian. The two great antagonists to civilization are moneymaking and prejudice. The African's elevation must depend upon himself and can be attained only by admitting native lineage to power and by education. "Nearly one-half the goods imported into my territory is in the form of liquor, and that of the very worst and most injurious kind." Those who cannot get enough smear their faces with it that their people may smell it and call them civilized. Those who have the means are drunk about every day, always excepting only the Mohammedans. Even the chiefs have gone so far that the least disturbance now results in war because of rum. "I can prove from my knowledge that all the wars that have been fought by my tribe since the advent of civilization have been brought on by a rash action on the part of drinking men. My people are strong, healthy, docile, willing to work for those who have authority, and we should be considered in the disposal of our land and in the rearrangement of our social conditions. If we had not advanced as high as some, we certainly had not fallen as low until liquor came. All we want is the right to work on our own soil, to eat and drink what is good for us, and foreign powers would in the end gain financially by a wiser policy." Let us, then, have a council of friends at some central point composed of all interested to consult and read papers and devise a plan for the protection of Africans from the evils of civilization. Let a council be formed to see that the laws made by other governments for the protection of the natives are carried out, that complaints from native chiefs reach the home government, that native women be protected, and that when European husbands abandon them they should be made to support her and her children. This society should have a journal. But the first step of all must be the demolition of the liquor traffic.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Much of what follows is a re-edited paper printed in the Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc., 1895.

F. W. Blyden<sup>2</sup> says that now that Great Britain has taken several large Mohammedan states under its control it should learn of the French government, which since 1830 has made special effort to study the language, methods, prejudices and likes of its Mohammedan subjects. This has produced a vast body of Moslem literature. Mohammed once prayed toward the West because he said "From that quarter crowds will enter the religion of Islam and will be among the most faithful of its adherents," and so it has proven. More than two hundred million of the human race regard this faith as final. The Koran has not been well translated either by Jones, DeSacy, Fletcher, Muir, Badger or Palmer. "Let none but the purified touch it." There is here no higher criticism to impair the steadfastness and certainty of belief, no quarrels in education to deprive the children of a knowledge at least of the letter of the Koran, the whole of which is often committed to memory. Islam means "surrender," and it is this name rather than "Mohammedan" which his followers prefer. There is one

chapter in the Koran—the thirty-first—entitled “Loquam,” inscribed to a negro, and Mohammed has negro descendants and had himself negro blood. A hafiz is one who knows the whole Koran by heart. Sudanic scholarship is often surprising, especially among the sharifs or descendants of the prophets. Arabic is a lingua franca or sacred language of Islam where others are spoken. The negro Mohammedan lives under a eugenic system which enables him to transmit successors. Allen Epward's suggestion that natives might be induced to Christianity by government proclamation, and that if Christianity was substituted for Islam the natives would not appreciate the distinction, is absurd. The African Moslems object to Christianity chiefly because the desocializing influences of the missionary break family ties, while their system consolidates them and increases the population. They also resent the caste system which separates the missionaries from the people, erecting strange special buildings for him with comforts that the people cannot enjoy. The Mohammedan missionary or teacher lives and sleeps with the people and forgets his race in the intensity

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2 The Koran in Africa. Jour. of the African Society, Jan., 1905.

7 of his interest in the story he has to tell. They also object to the liquor traffic. “A trade worth millions is annually carried on between the Sudan and the Mediterranean, and not a gill of spirits enters into it.” We tend to emancipate the negro from the disciplinary influences of savage customs, and present him with the free spirit of Christianity to be a law unto himself. Miss Kingsley, in her trenchant criticisms, insisted that the Protestant missions did most harm.

The negro has a tropical imagination, a very keen sensitiveness to nature and an over-mastering tendency to personify not only animals but natural objects. This has given birth and currency to the rankest growth of superstition to be found among any race and which often controls daily life. Some of these, like Obi worship, sorcery, voodooism, witchcraft, can be traced back to Africa and directly connected with fetich worship. The negro's intense emotionality predisposes him to believe in supernatural agencies; the good to be worshipped, the evil to be averted or propitiated. Convinced that the powers of evil were dominating him in his hardships he often sought the aid of spells, charms, exorcism, conjuring, weird nocturnal orgies, and even sometimes sacrifices of human blood.<sup>1</sup> He has developed a folk-lore of wondrous richness just beginning to be exploited by the white man's song and poetry. To the timidity and harmlessness of the much hunted Brer Rabbit he has added a cunning that outwits and a sagacity that often besets his enemies, so that this animal, slightly totemized, reflects his own nature. His sympathy with domestic and wild animals and fowls often invests them with human traits and makes them vehicles of moral meanings, gives to their cries, calls and songs a human significance and sees romances suggested by their characteristic activities very much as childhood does. He projects his very life into sunshine, storm, cloud, thunder, and especially in the latter he feels the immediate presence of a supernal power. Color is poetry

and the sounds of nature music. All exceptional events in nature and human life have an immediate religious meaning to him.

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1 DuBois: *The Soul of Black Folk*, 1903, p. 198.

If the feeling of dependence is the root of religion no race has ever been so predisposed to it. Submission, obedience, renunciation, have been his dumb, unwritten philosophy. Repression, humility, resignation, suffering, renunciation, for generations made him seize eagerly the conception of another world where his long patience and pain would be rewarded and where rest and freedom, his chief desires, would be realized. His imagination, which could give even dreams reality, made the next world a merely sensuous thing. In Africa it was this that predisposed him to revel in the heaven of Mohammedanism to which he has there been converted with ease and in numbers probably unprecedented in missionary annals. The negro fatalism, too, so illustrated in the character of Uncle Tom, takes a very different but no less constraining form with him than with the Arabs. Indeed, it has been urged that Mohammedanism is a natural next step above fetichism and the one his race should first take on its way to Christianity. Even in this country a note of revenge sometimes creeps into his conceptions of the great day of the Lord's coming when justice would bring reaction and restitution. Here the transition has been direct to Christianity. Nearly all negroes are church members at some period of their lives, and to the negro of the lower type religion is a kind of Pythian frenzy and the devotee becomes mad with supernal joy. He communicates with God in abandon, in vision and trance. Depravity, damnation, ecstasy, goodness, heaven and hell, are a simple and forcible creed, and by proclaiming these the colored preacher represents at once the bard and medicine man as the master did the chief of the old regime on the dark continent. The church became the social centre of life, replacing tribe and clan, and is thus to-day the truest expression of the southern negro's character. The venerable rite of baptism appealed strongly to his mystic temperament, while his emotional character gave Methodism the next place, and both these churches grew in influence and usefulness as even during the days of slavery they became less local and more organized. The negro church, so carefully studied in Du Bois's monograph,<sup>1</sup> antedated the negro home and now gives morality among the southern blacks its chief sanction and support. Its development from the nature worship of the Cameroons in Guinea and the gold coast is one of the most interesting of all the studies of religious development.

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1 *The Negro Church: A Social Study*. The Atlanta University Press, 1903, p. 212.

Shaler estimates that about half a million Africans have been imported into this country. No other race ever came here without its own consent. Slavery always involves more or less artificial selection. Those chosen in Africa were usually the best available. Slave traders not only rejected the deformed,

old, sick, weakly, but often took great pains to select in both sexes those who were young, large, handsome, and vigorous. In Felt's "Salem" (quoted by George H. Moore in his "Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts," 1866,) elaborate instructions are given to the captain of a slave craft bound to Africa to bring home a slave cargo, directing him to select strong and young persons, whether they were captured or bought with rum, and enjoining great care of their health on the homeward voyage. This selection of the best, which Dr. Thomson estimates has within Christian centuries robbed Africa of twenty million of the flower of its youth, has contributed, as Lecky thinks the celibacy of the best did in the early Christian centuries to the dark ages, to check the indigenous development of Africa. It has also helped to make the average Southern pure-blood negro distinctly above his ethnic congeners in the Dark Continent in stature and vigor if not in intelligence. Although the pure-blooded negroes of all tribes are unusually homogeneous, and show general uniformity in the sharpness and definiteness of their ethnic type over most of equatorial Africa (chiefs differing comparatively little from the slaves there), the Southern negro, nevertheless, owes much to this selection. This or the regimen of slavery, or both, have given him on the whole greater weight and muscular development and increased regularity in eating, sleeping, and exercise. Slavery, at any rate, found the negro a savage and left him a trained laborer, and, as was for the interests of the master, in good physical condition.

One of the best evidences of this is found in the statistics of fecundity before and since emancipation. Between 1800 and 1900 the colored population of this country increased from 1,002,000 to 8,840,000, or well-nigh nine-fold. This increase was chiefly indigenous, because the slave trade ended in 1808. At this rate of increase, in the year 2000 A. D. the negroes will number nearly seventy-five million, or, on a different basis, according to Patterson's figures, in 1960 they will number forty-three million, or will equal the total white population of the country in 1880. Their rate of increase suffered marked diminution during the war, but is now slowly approaching the rate (probably the greatest the race has ever seen) which it had during slavery. Reproductivity is still greater than these figures would indicate; for in those States and cities where statistics of death are available (for instance in Louisiana) the mortality of the negro is greater than that of the whites at every age and greatest of all under five. This is due in part to early marriages and to loose sex relations. Few races, save the Celts, Russians, and Jews, are multiplying so fast. Their increase is markedly in excess of that of the Southern whites, which is high, and still greater than that of the Northern native whites, and greater than the increase of our total population exclusive of immigration. A race that can double three times in a century has a future. The negro's fecundity in the South is distinctly greater than in the North, he is more fertile in the country in the South than in its cities, and it is just here that he follows the great racial law of migrations, namely, of gravitating toward those territories where he multiplies fastest. So, conversely, negroes are attracted least toward those sections of the country where their rate of increase is least. As all schemes of



deportation are more and more recognized as impracticable, the problems of this race here, for an indefinitely long period, are likely to grow every year in complexity and in practical importance. This increase, it must be borne in mind, is despite the very high mortality rates, and every change that decreases this means a more rapid increase in the colored population, and this increase, not only absolutely, but relatively, is sure to be far greater in the warm South, where the negro is at home, than in the North.

No two races in history, taken as a whole, differ so much in their traits, both physical and psychic, as the Caucasian and the African. The color of the skin and the crookedness of the hair are only the outward signs of many far deeper differences, including cranial and thoracic capacity, proportions of body, nervous system, glands and secretions, vita sexualis, food, temperament, disposition, character, longevity, instincts, customs, emotional traits, and diseases. All these differences, as they are coming to be better understood, are seen to be so great as to qualify if not imperil every inference from one race to another, whether theoretical or practical, so that what is true and good for one is often false and bad for the other. Many of these differences were naturally far better understood by both races in the days of slavery and in the South than ever in the North or anywhere now: the emancipation destroyed much of the interest of slave owners in their chattels, so that intimate knowledge of the blacks by the whites in the South has in many respects steadily declined since the war. This is a faint biological analogue of what would occur if the best breeds of cattle should break up their domestication and return to the feral state; for then man's knowledge of the laws of their breeding and care would lapse, as natural selection assumed the place of artificial. On the other hand, during this period a new scientific study of the negro has arisen, and is fast developing established results which are slowly placing the problems of the future of this race upon a more solid and intelligent basis, and which seems destined sooner or later to condition philanthropy and legislation, make sentiment more intelligent, and take the problem out of the hands of politicians, sentimentalists, or theorists, and place it where it belongs, — with economists, anthropologists, and sociologists.

To select the single question of health, from many of the racial differences above enumerated, we find, in compiling many medical studies of the blacks, that their diseases are very different from ours. Their liability to consumption is 11 estimated at from one and a half to three and a half times greater than that of the whites. This is only partly due to their transportation from equatorial Africa, because there they are peculiarly prone to tuberculosis, and measurements show less average lung capacity than is found in the whites. Very striking is their immunity from malaria and yellow fever, which shows a different composition of the blood and which enables them to work in so many places where the whites cannot. They have extraordinary power to survive both wounds and grave surgical operations, with less liability during convalescence to reactions of fever



and other complications. There is less suppuration, better and quite different granulation and scarification. Their lymphatic glands are more developed and more effective in filtering out bacteria, so that to most infections they are more antiseptic; and the specific energy of their serum, bile, and phagocytes against toxins is different from that of whites. Cancer, especially of the worst or carcinomous kind, is very rare, as are varicocele, enlarged prostate, stone in gall and bladder, and ovarian tumor. They are far from exempt from congenital deformities, whether those due to arrest or perverted growth, so that humpback, club foot, harelip, spina bifida, are unusual. There is more syphilis, but it less often results in tabes; more passion for alcohol and more consequent congestion of the liver, but less pure alcoholism. There is less insanity, mental defect oftener takes the form of idiocy, and all acute psychoses like mania issue sooner in imbecility. Epilepsy is far more common, and is connected with their general erethism. They are naturally cheerful, and so very rarely suffer from melancholia or commit suicide. The strange sleeping sickness they have practically all to themselves. Tetanus is common, chorea rare. General paralysis or softening of the brain, said never to have occurred in slavery although now sometimes found, usually lacks, when it does occur, the characteristic stage of delusions of greatness, perhaps owing to their humble position. Many eye troubles are infrequent, and various other differences have been noted. Now these distinctions involve profound diversities of constitution and diathesis. All their diseases have a different prognosis and require modifications of treatment, so that the training of physicians for the two races needs differentiation. Immune to many conditions morbid for Caucasians, they are very susceptible to others harmless for whites. In tropical Africa men and women are extremely fond of bathing, which their very active skin needs; but this disposition decreases almost exactly as clothing increases, and as the negro goes North is often changed into exceptional aversion to the bath, which is suggestive for cooks and nurses. Of course mixture of blood with the whites brings approximation to the pathological conditions of the latter. Many of these differences are so radical that a Southern physician has said in substance, perhaps somewhat extremely, that a successful experience in treating one race impaired a physician's usefulness with the other, and made two hygienes and two regimens necessary,—as different as the application of veterinary medicine for horses is from that applied to oxen.

The chief event in the history of the Southern negro in the new world is the infiltration of white blood. But for this the negro in mind and body would be so distinct from us that all our problems connected with the race would be vastly simplified. Just how far he has lost his rare racial homogeneity here, it is impossible to tell. The extreme minimal estimate that I have found is that one-tenth have some white blood, and one maximal estimate is that two-thirds are partly white. Page thinks that from one-ninth to one-sixth are mixed. Du Bois says that two million negroes here have some white blood. Most estimates range somewhere between one-fifth and one-half. The diversity in the estimates of this proportion shows the difficulties that beset this study. Indeed, this

question has itself become a part of the race problem; negroes and their friends always making the proportion large, and Southern whites regarding it as small. The negro himself has an hereditary disregard for heredity and keeps no pedigrees. Where crosses with white blood occur they are, of course, extramarital, and the mulatto's sentiments upon this subject are a strange mixture of pride and shame, while his or her white father has yet stronger motives for concealment. Thus cousins of different racial complexion and even half brothers and sisters sometimes go through life without suspecting their relationship. Scientific investigation here is usually highly resented. Many blacks and even whites hold that pale skins are sometimes produced spontaneously from black parents,—which is, of course, impossible, negro albinos being very rare. Moreover, the grade of pigmentation is not a sure index of the degree of miscegenation, and in the veins of some thought purely African probably flows at least a little of the best white blood of the land. The most serious aspect of the negro question, thus, is found in the fact that the most important portion of the race, whatever its size, inherits more or less of the best Anglo-Saxon cavalier blood, brain, and temper. Thus all the vast psychophysics differences between the two races are bridged, and they possibly fuse with each other by all imperceptible gradations. We know too little of the laws of heredity to evaluate the profit and loss of this blood mixture. It has certainly given us some of the leaders of their race in this country; 13 and when we think of the Dumas, Pushkin, and many others, we see that it certainly can produce an occasional genius. There is much reason to think that mixture has played an important role in history, and that most of the great races are the result of the commingling of different ethnic stocks. Not a few (like, for instance, the Scotch-Irish) have been superior to either parent stirp. Some have held, from a study of miscegenation in other lands, that sons oftener inherit from their mother and daughters from their father. If this be so, it follows that here, where the crossing is practically all of white fathers and dark mothers, the daughters would be more Caucasian than the sons. At any rate, men like Fred Douglass, Bishop Payne, Booker Washington, Du Bois, Chestnut, Tanner, Dunbar, Thomas, and scores of others, are not typical negroes. Says H. S. Dickerman, "There are full-blooded negroes of ability, but a very large proportion of those one sees in places of responsibility and honor among negroes are of mixed race. It is so with teachers, ministers and physicians. In many of the most celebrated schools a large part of the pupils are very light, and in the cities one finds congregations in some of the more aristocratic churches in which nearly all are mulattoes."

Whatever the biological laws may be, they are, however, here obscured and rendered ineffective by social prejudice which draws a color line and ostracizes not only quadroons and octoroons, but those with one-sixteenth, one thirty-second, and, Booker Washington says, one one-hundredth negro blood, even though it be so attenuated as to leave no sign discernible save by scrutiny of hair, nails, etc., and condemns mulattoes of whatever degree to association with those whose pure Hamitic blood has known no dash or strain of white. It is this that has intensified racial solidarity and helps to make every question in the South tend to become a race question, and often now divides

Southern towns and cities by a color line so drawn that instead of the best whites seeing most of the best mulattoes, the former prefer contact with the pure blacks, and race friction is between the lower whites and the mulattoes. Whether the mulattoes are better or worse than either parent, race-prejudice, not only in our own, but in every land where the races coexist, has made it impossible to tell. While there are some pure Africans born with gifts far above the average of their race, most of its leaders are those who have by heredity, association, or both, derived most from the whites. It is their aspirations, discontent, struggles, ending often in discouragement, which makes them either sink to vice or grow revengeful and desperate, that constitute the pathos of the present condition, and make it hardest for the men to preserve their hope and just ambition, and for the women to keep their virtue in the presence of the whites. A recent writer says, "Ninety-nine per cent. of the whites regard all with any negro blood as about alike." It is idle to censure a state of things universal where a higher and lower race come into close contact; but when the South boasts of its magnanimity in aiding negro education or threatens to withdraw support and sympathy, leaving colored schools to be sustained by negro taxation alone, then, and then only, this consideration may be allowed to be not impertinent, and we may even recall Plato, who would have all parents abandon their children in tender years to the care of the State in order that the parental instinct and responsibility might be diffused and all fathers and mothers regard every child they met of similar age as perhaps their own.

Another racial trait of the negro is found in the sphere of sexual development. Special studies show that the negro child up to about twelve is quite as bright as the white child; but when this instinct develops it is earlier, more sudden, and far more likely permanently to retard mental and moral growth than in the white who shoots ahead. Thus the virtues and defects of the negro through life remain largely those of puberty. Hence his diathesis, both psychic and physical, is erethic, volatile, changeable, prone to tantrums, intensely emotional, and even epileptoid states. W. H. Thomas, himself a negro, in his book entitled "The American Negro," says, "The chief and overpowering element in his make-up is an imperious sexual impulse, which, aroused at the slightest incentive, sweeps aside all restraint." This he deems the chief cause of the arrest of the higher development of this tropical race. During slavery regular hard work, temperance, awe of his white master, were potent restraints, and he was often a faithful guardian of the unprotected women of the household, whose head was in the army. Now idleness, drink, and a new sense of equality have destroyed these restraints of imperious lust, which in some cases is reinforced by the thought of generations of abuse of his own women by white men upon whom he would turn the tables. At any rate, the number, boldness, and barbarity of the rapists, and the frequency of the murder of their victims have increased, till whites in many parts of the South have told me that no woman of their race is safe anywhere alone day or night. Of the 3,008 lynchings in this country during the twenty years ending with the close of 1904, a clear majority are connected with murder or with this crime so often

associated with it; although Governor Vardman's statistics for Louisiana showed that of over three hundred murders in that State in 1903, the great majority were of negroes by negroes, and the most common cause was quarrels arising over the game of crap. There has also been a gradual increase in the barbarity of this punishment for rape, slightly known before the war. The brutality of these assaults is often such that the most staid communities and heads of families, who have strongly and publicly denounced lynching, find themselves swept away in a frenzy of vengeance. When such a crime comes home to one's own wife, daughter or mother, none of us know what we should do. As a preventive of crime, lynching has something to be said for it, but more to be said against it. This wild justice is brutalizing upon those who inflict it, who are usually young men and boys. Some drastic cures have been suggested, — a drumhead court-martial with immediate execution of the guilty, emasculation, instant trial and abolishment of appeal, and even the legalization of burning at the stake. These suggestions show at least how desperate is the resolution in the white South that this crime must be checked at whatever cost. One typical aggravation of the evil is illustrated in a certain Southern district known to the writer, where the youngest and most briefless and inexperienced lawyer is, by an old custom, elected prosecuting attorney. He can receive five dollars for trying each case. His inexperience naturally often causes errors that give ground for appeals and delays. The chief need is that the leading negroes should speak out more strongly against this crime than they do, and no longer give cause to writers like Mr. Page to insist that the race as a whole covertly sympathizes a little with every black victim of a mob, no matter how atrocious his crime, and perhaps with every black criminal. They should feel their own responsibility, and cooperate with the law in enforcing justice and teaching their race not to palliate crime or even shield criminal members of it. The negro's sense of the enormity of the crime of ravishing does certainly seem to differ somewhat with that of the whites. If negroes were listed and all the vagrants kept track of, as in Germany, if officers had power to summon posses, or if sheriffs gave bonds to be forfeited if they lost their prisoner, or negro officers were given interest in the punishment of criminals of their own race, some help might be found. In a paper of this kind of course only a very few of the points involved can be touched on.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the Atlantic Studies.

After the war the majority at the North sanctioned the policy of giving the negro the ballot, which Lincoln disapproved and which had been persistently refused him in many Northern States. It was given, if not as a penalizing measure to those lately in rebellion, at least as a weapon to safeguard the freedom of these new wards of the nation. Then followed the eight years beginning with 1867, so tragic for the South, involving 16 enormous waste and confusion, an indebtedness equalling the entire cost of the war plus the value of the slaves as property, negroizing more or less one-third of the States of the Union until they seemed to be on the downward path toward conditions like those

of Hayti, San Domingo, or Porto Rico. Whatever allegiance and friendship the negroes had felt for their old masters was transferred to their new Northern allies. For myself, an abolitionist both by conviction and descent, I wish to confess my error of opinion in those days; and I believe that all candid minds who, in Kelley Miller's trenchant phrase, study rather than discuss the problem, and are not too old to learn, are ready to confess mistakes. Even the Freedman's Bureau helped make the colored man at the South feel dependent upon the North rather than upon his own efforts. Much as the new South has done to outgrow these evils, perhaps the worst effect of all these years is now seen in the fact that Southern negroes are a solidified party arrayed against their old masters on all questions, and cannot divide freely among themselves even on local and economic problems, or follow their own interests, but the party and color line still coincide.

At the Republican National Convention at Chicago in June, 1904, a plank was proposed demanding reduced representation in Congress and in the electoral college for such States as eliminated the elective franchise unconstitutionally.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See The Negro Issue, by J. P. Dunn. Indianapolis, 1904.

The democratic platform protested that this would bring again in aggravated form the hateful race animosity, now well on the way to healing, and would draw again sectional lines obscured by the fact that men from the North and South had stood together at Pekin and Santiago. All States of this Union have certain limitations of suffrage; idiots and lunatics; in two States, dualists; in one, bigamists; in ten, paupers; in several others, those who have not paid their poll tax or all taxes, while California, Nevada and Oregon ignore the fifteenth amendment which forbids the exclusion on account of "race, color or previous condition of servitude," exclude Chinamen. In any Southern State negroes are now admitted to the right of suffrage if they can read and write, and in Louisiana, South Carolina and Alabama even the illiterate black, if he pays taxes on three hundred dollars' worth of property, can vote, while in Virginia, Alabama and Mississippi all who served on either side in army or navy in the Civil War are admitted to suffrage. To be sure, in some of the Southern States the Constitution must be read and understood or the negro must write an application in the presence of the inspectors, and by the famous grandfather clause whites who descended from those 17 who took part in the Civil War are exempt from these qualifications. Mr. Crumpacker, like Mr. Dunn also from Indiana, has repeatedly introduced proposals to restrict representation in the South. These methods were a slow development of a reaction by intelligent citizens against a saturnalia of political corruption that arose under negro rule. The unfairness of the proposition to determine representation by the basis of votes cast is seen in the fact that in 1900 Massachusetts cast only 414,801 votes out of a voting population of 843,456, but this minority of its voters elected fourteen Congressmen, or an average of one to every 29,655 votes. Nevada in the same year cast only 10,196

votes with a voting population of 17,710, but these voters elected their member of Congress, two Senators, and three presidential electors. So far as national government is concerned we find that one voter in Nevada has fifteen times as much power as a voter in Indiana. If any one doubts the evils of wholesale negro suffrage he should glance at the literature.<sup>1</sup> The curse of the negro colonies lies in the fact that ninety-nine per cent. of the whites regard all negroes as being alike.

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1 See for instance P. A. Bruce: *The Plantation Negro as a Free Man*; J. A. Tillinghast: *The Negro in Africa and America*.

Republican leaders are ready to throw negro suffrage overboard and take compensation in a reduced representation of the South, for their platform expressly states that if the franchise is unconstitutionally limited the representation shall be reduced. They propose to let the constitutional right of the negro go and take political advantage in place of it. Again, the whole question of educational qualification for the right of suffrage is at stake. Indiana, for instance, pays eight million dollars a year for public schools and makes education compulsory, and yet it says to the boy who manages to grow up illiterate, "You shall be allowed to vote even if you do not learn to read and write." Governor Aycock, of North Carolina, the hero of "The Leopard's Spots," resisted successfully the movement in his State that taxes paid by whites should go to support white schools only and that the black schools should receive only the taxes paid by the blacks. Having taken from the ignorant negro the power to vote it becomes us to safeguard every right he has.

Before the war the negro was often a skilled laborer. Nearly all the agriculture of the South and most occupations pertaining to food, clothing, and shelter were in his hands. The old plantation was an industrial school, not entirely without analogies to the old New England farm which has trained so many of its best citizens. When freedom came it was naturally interpreted as freedom not to work, and so came the *au rebours* days of misery where so many Southern novelists and essayists are finding rich fields for literary exploitation.

The situation in certain southern countries which have overlooked the value of industrial education is well illustrated by a story told by the late Henry W. Grady about a country funeral in Georgia. "The grave was dug in the midst of a pine forest, but the pine coffin that held the body was brought from Cincinnati. Hickory and other hard woods grew in abundance near by, but the wagon on which the coffin was drawn came from South Bend, Indiana, and the mule that drew the wagon came from Missouri. Valuable minerals were close to the cemetery, but the shovels and picks used in digging the grave came from Pittsburg, and their handles from Baltimore. The shoes in which the dead man was buried came from Lynn, Massachusetts, his coat and trousers from New York, his shirt from Lowell, Massachusetts, and his collar and tie from Philadelphia. The only things supplied by the county, with



its wealth of natural resources, was the corpse and the hole in the ground, and Mr. Grady added that the county probably would have imported both of these if it could have done so."

At this point of Southern despair came one of those masterly pieces of statecraft in the last century—masterly because so simple—in the policy of Booker Washington. Let our race, he said, be as separate socially and politically from the whites as the ten fingers, though industrially as united with them as the fingers are united in the hand. Under the reconstruction era, he says that the chief desire of all bright young negroes was to hold office and to study Latin, and he declares that it is against these two desires that the efforts of his life are directed. More than a score of simple industries are taught. About these nearly all book learning is made to centre. Instead of the one-crop system he would have at least half a dozen. He teaches women to work in the field and garden, as they do at Swansley, England; establishes penny banks; teaches to work in wood, iron, lead, and leather; to raise poultry, cattle, pigs, mules; to build houses, make clothes, and, in short, to resume in freedom the control of the industries they had in slavery. His people resisted; for even industrial education suggested to them a return to slavery. Along these lines, also, he conducts summer conferences which attract negro farmers from every State in the South, and makes slow but effective headway against the extortions of tradesmen who thrive on the negroes' improvidence and credulity and those who sell on the installment plan or advance money on crops yet to be gathered, levy extortionate rents, etc. Under this policy the negro waives for the present the right of 19 suffrage and office-holding for the ignorant, or at least welcomes an educational qualification. For myself, I doubt if any educational institution in the world's history ever showed, in those who attend from year to year, greater progress along so many lines,—dress, manners, intelligence, morals, health,—than is seen in the pupils of Tuskegee. Thousands of schools of lower grade are being permeated by this influence, and the negro is winning recognition, and, what is quite as important, is content to do so on his merits. The only modification of Mr. Washington's programme that seems needed is that which Professor Du Bois pleads for, namely, opportunity of all the higher cultural elements of education to every negro who can take it and make use of it. The only shadow that clouds his future now is the danger, happily diminishing, of the interference of Congressmen of the Crumpacker type with the existing state of things,—confessedly tentative and provisional, grandfather clause and all,—and the growing danger of an influx of white labor and of trade unions, most of which exclude negroes. Their ascendancy in the South would make wreckage of all the now promising solutions of these vastest of all our internal problems. Under this programme the negro will prefer the country to the city, the South to the North, and will slowly develop his full fights on an industrial, economic basis, for money and business know no color line.

The course marked out by prudence and common sense would therefore seem to be that the negro should now address himself to the solution of his own problems, carry on the work of studying



his race so well begun at Atlanta under Professor Du Bois, and make his own social life as he has made the life of his church (which is its chief centre, and also its most characteristic expression, to which nearly every negro belongs at some time during his life), and recognize that his race has gifts that others lack,—such as an intense and large emotional life, an exquisite sensitiveness to nature, gifts in the field of music and oratory, a peculiar depth of religious life (connected in part with the sense of dependence, which is its psychic root), a strong belief in invisible powers, a certain sense of fate (which in Africa predisposes the natives to Mohammedanism, which is said to be growing as fast as any religion ever spread and which some think a kind of next step above fetichism), rare good humor, jollity, patience, etc. An African museum has been suggested in which should be gathered the folk-lore and records of tribal customs (which a parliamentary commission in Africa has just found to be very elaborate, and, in many respects, better for the natives than English law, and of which many traces survive here), the anthropological literature upon the race here and elsewhere, and mementoes of Hamitic culture 20 generally. Some have suggested a special permanent commission of those most competent and interested, white and black, to be consulted both by philanthropists and legislators. One of the most hopeful facts in the situation is that there are now for the first time such experts. Their knowledge certainly ought to be utilized. This we have notoriously failed to do in the case of the Indian. There seems a water-tight compartment in Washington between the Indian Bureau presiding over the material interests of the red man and the Ethnological Bureau devoted to his study. Even the Mohonk Conference has never, I am told, with one exception heard the voice of one of these specialists who best know the facts upon which all our Indian policy should be based. Let no such mistakes be made concerning the negro. He has capacities for friendship, loyalty, patriotism, piety, and industry in regions where white men cannot work, which in some respects, perhaps, exceed ours and which the country sorely needs. If he can only be made to accept without whining patheticism and corroding self-pity his present situation, prejudice and all, hard as it is, take his stand squarely upon the feet of his race, respect its unique gifts, develop all its possibilities, make himself the best possible black man and not desire to be a brunette imitation of the Caucasian, he will in coming generations fill a place of great importance and of pride both to himself and to us in the future of the republic. The chief fact in the present situation is the at last rapidly growing tendency to commit the problems of his race more and more into the hands of its own members. If this is not done gradually and wisely enough, and if the present promise of leaders within the race is fulfilled, all will come out best for both races in the end.